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Witchcraft on plantations is called the destroying of gardens (*i vakatha ni teitei*). 754

Take leaves of pig's hoof in any number, and black ants from a grave; rub on a reed point and cast at a garden and turn away. If the yams sprout finely till the soil is hidden with leaves, yet when it is dug up there will be no tuber. The charm is effective, owing to the ant from the grave.

The counter charm is called a refresher or bather, as is as follows:

Place five or six fruits of *kaile* in pairs in a row; chop them with a knife and bury them in four holes. No words are spoken; there are no spirits. The bathing consists in going to the sea. The refresher of the crops is thus: eight leaves of *walai*, and scrapings from a stem of *i vombo* are used for "washing the crops"; an infusion (*vusoi*) is made in a cup and a libation (*sevuka*) is made in the garden by sprinkling it at the bottom of the plantation. This is used for any crops.

Another remedy is to infuse leaves of *tokatolu* for washing off witchery.

DEATH

Dying or fainting is expressed by *thimba*. A man who is unconscious 763
is said not to perceive his soul.

A dying man is dressed in a shirt and white kilt. Of old if he was a nobleman the house would be filled with his train. As the dying man's eyeballs begin to turn upwards the people press down the eyelids. This is called *vakandromuthi* (cause to set).

Of old they sometimes called back the soul (*yalo*): "Tiosese, eh! come back, come back." This was termed *kathi yalo*, calling the soul. Some came to life again.

Not until the man is dead do they wail. I once was present at the death 763
of a child: there was not a tear or a sob. As soon as the child had expired 565
the body was brought out to be photographed, it was then wrapped in oiled bark cloth; then the wailing began as if by word of command. The wailing of the women is loud and vehement, "Woe is me! my child!"[25] The men wail, but in low tones. Only the close relatives wail in the house upon the death of a nobleman. A noble youth then comes and blows a conch, and the wailing ceases, though weeping may be done quietly. The conch is blown that it may wail. A nobleman who wants to wail does it by blowing a conch. It is tapu to wail; only the conches may wail. For a Tui Naiau of old there were ten to thirty conches which were blown without ceasing day and night, the men relieving one another until the burial. For Ratu Finau's little daughter, three or four conches were blown inside the house; heard from outside the dissonance of the low toned conches produced a

[25] *A i valu na lutenggu. A i valu* means war; it has become an exclamation of distress.

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763 565 most gloomy effect. If the deceased is a commoner the conch may not be blown; they only wail, but not continuously.

The following information was received from various informants:

764 431 The wailing is a signal for the kinfolk to bring bundles of mats to prepare the dead man's couch. When Isoa was dying two Tongan brothers brought theirs before he was dead, and laid him on their mats that he might die on them. After his death his widow, prepared another set of mats for the body to lie on. Inside the clan each individual, including the widow, provides one bundle, if he can; others only provide one for each family (*yavusa*). The widow may decide that her bundle of mats shall be her husband's couch. When the late Tui Naiau died the couch comprised three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*). Tongan fine mats (*kie ni Tonga*) are used as pillows. Ten to fifty sheets of Tongan bark cloth of the kind called *ngatu tasinga* are wrapped round the body under the armpits and covering the feet. The arms are extended alongside the body.

764 431 565 Each bundle consists of ten mats rolled up with a sheet of black bark cloth inside, for black bark cloth is used for a nobleman's funeral. Any one who brings a Tongan fine mat wraps it up in a cloth; it is tapu to hold it unwrapped (*tauga wale nga*). If it is a noble funeral (*putu vakaturanga*) the Roko Sau will send a bundle, perhaps come himself; or if he does not the Randi Naiau will go and announce, "The bundle from Great House." Other nobles also send bundles. Bundles come from Tumbou proper and the various villages that are related to the deceased; only the deceased man's kinfolk come. The relationship may be roundabout; thus Tumbou once sent a bundle because the deceased wife's daughter's mother and Tui Tumbou's mother both came from the island of Matuku. The mats that are not to go to the grave are not placed under the body but put away near the couch at the end of the house.

764 431 These bundles are called kissing gifts (*i rengurengu*) because after putting down the gifts the donors kiss the deceased. Inferiors kiss the hands or feet according to their rank; if higher still they kiss the face. If the deceased is a Tui Naiau they will kiss his hands or his feet, not his face. Only true kinsmen kiss. Only one will kiss from each group of gentlemen that comes; thus the Tui Tumbou will come with his people and kiss but his people will not kiss. Those who come for the kissing wrap an old tattered mat round their waists, or wear black, a sign of mourning worn as long as the mourning lasts. Whale's teeth are the kissing gifts of those who bring small gifts; the dead man's near kinsfolk cannot bring whale's teeth; they must bring bundles: these are the gifts proper to a death; a stranger in the village may bring kava. The whale's teeth are merely pushed forward towards the owner of the house; they are not offered up in the usual style. When mats are brought the "owners of the dead," as the family are called, say "Thanks for bringing the mats." There is no return made for kissing gifts; they are merely left as love tokens (*iloloma*) for the gentleman. Absent people bring their kissing gifts at their next visit to Lakemba.

764 Lying in state is described as "lying above" or "at the upper end" (*koto i thake*). From the body down to the middle of the house they lay out one, two, three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*), but not spread out flat. This is a new custom; of old it was hung from both ends like a screen. It is called *kolo*, which is the Tongan for a fort or rampart. It is tapu to sit above the rampart or step over it; but one may lie underneath it to keep warm. For a small man there is only one rampart.

Of old, Narewandamu and Tandravula handled the body of the Tui Naiau, anointed it and watched over it (*yandrava*) and kept driving away the flies; they were called sacred hands (*lima tambu*), and might not touch their foods with their hands, being fed or using a fork. At the present day the wife and those who fan the body sit at the upper end.

Women come in to watch and sit at the lower end, all the kinswomen assemble in the house where the body is—a custom called *tonitoni*. The

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BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [77]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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is provided and prepared by the groom's clan and is eaten by the whole village. 585

An analysis of the marriage affinal exchange shows that the most elaborate rites mark the marriage of a virgin. The ceremonies, which last for four days, are summarized as follows:

First day:

1. ra mbutu, affinal exchange of property provided by both clans
2. mangitchi ni vakawatchi, large wedding feast provided by both clans
3. mangitchi ni kana vata, small "eating-together" feast provided by both clans
4. preparation of nuptial couch (bedding contributed by both clans)
5. rarawa, virginity test

Second day:

6. i vaka yandra, large feast for a virgin provided by the boy's clan
7. i vaka mamatha, the "drying" property provided by the boy's clan
8. kotchi ni tombe, cutting of the "virgin locks", property provided by the boy's clan.

Fourth day:

9. i silisili ki wai levu, bath in the sea, property and large feast provided by the boy's clan

Ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 4 involve contributions from both the boy's and the girl's clans. Ceremonies 6, 7, 8, and 9 involve contributions from the boy's clan only. For the actual rites the boy's relatives contribute a larger amount of property and food to the girl's clan than they receive. For the betrothal rites all the property and food is presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan. Hence marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property in which the boy's clan pays by far the greater share.

For the first marriage of a non-virgin only ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 7 are held, all in one day. The marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property between the two clans in which the boy's clan contributes very little more than the girl's.

The marriage of a widow (*ndawai*) is even less elaborate. It consists of [587] ceremonies 2, 3, and 7 held on the first day.

It is clear, therefore, that the man's clan pays for virginity. If the bride is not a virgin the marriage involves a more nearly equal affinal exchange.

DEATH

When a person is near death his body is oiled, dressed in a clean kilt, and 763 moved to a new mat. An unconscious (*tandoka*) person is considered dead (*mate*) because his soul has left his body. He might be restored to life by [828] a medicine called *wai ni ndoka* or by the capture and return of his soul. After death is seen in his eyes, the body is placed on a large piece of Tongan tapa and covered with oiled tapa or a sheet of cloth.

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763 The female relatives of the deceased begin to wail. The words are not formalized. On Kambara the following cry is repeated over and over: "Ei valu vei au . . . valu vei! E a wei!" or "Wei, a wei, ai valu vei au!" (Alas, woe is me, woe, alas!) For an individual considered to be a great loss to the community—such as a young person, especially the first-born of a ranking clan—the wailing is very loud and lasts from the hour of death until burial. For an old and feeble person of low rank there is less wailing.

765 A widow (*ndawai*) cuts her hair close to the head and wears old mats for one hundred nights. She wears a string of hibiscus bark around her neck, which she knots every night in order to keep count (*n:bongi*) or a pumice (*soata*) stone is rubbed white, and a black mark made with a brand every night. After the tenth night, she is allowed to fish. After one hundred nights she is allowed to remarry.

764 I witnessed six burials on Kambara and one on Lakemba. Several of these have been described in order to show variations of the death ceremonial pattern due to rank, age, and circumstance.

Death of the high chief

766 The death of the high chief is an important social, economic, and ceremonial event in the life of the Lauans. It is one of the few occasions on which all the islands of the group function as a unit.

When Ratu Finau, high chief of Lau, died at Lakemba word of the death spread by canoe throughout the Lau group, and preparations for the funeral ceremonies began immediately. On each island were collected whales' teeth, mats, tapa, and food if it was available. Members of the leading clans of the main islands (including men, women, circumcised youths, and young girls belonging to the upper class) were selected to attend the funeral ceremonies. About two weeks after the death had occurred they were picked up by a cutter belonging to the district commissioner of Lau. I accompanied the Kambara group. The cutter stopped at Namuka and Oneata to board representatives and tribute and landed at Tumbou, the village of the high chief at Lakemba.

Every house in Tumbou was crowded with natives from all the islands in the chiefdom of Lau, except the most remote, Fulanga, Ongea, Vatoa, and Ono. The whole village was under a strict tabu which lasted from the time of the chief's death until his burial. No one was allowed outside his house except in necessity, and everyone who appeared in the village was required to wear black. Men and women wore kilts and shirts or blouses of barkcloth, tied old, frayed mats around their waists, and cut their hair. The hair of the women, cut 2 to 5 cm. from the head, was shorter than that of the men. The village ceremonial ground was kept clear by the high chief's bodyguard, composed exclusively of men from Naiau. Dressed like warriors in kilts of tapa, with oiled bodies and blackened faces, they stood at attention with a club on the shoulder, guarding the entrance to paths leading across the ceremonial ground.

[534] The only sound to be heard was that of the nine conch shells blown continuously from the time of the chief's death until his burial, by men of the nobility of Lakemba. The conch shell blowers sat under a pavilion beside the Chief's House (Vale Levu), and blew the shells continuously in four or five hour shifts. This is called *a nondra'tangi na turanga;* at a chief's funeral it replaces the usual wailing, for only the chief's nearest relatives are allowed to wail.

Between death and burial, the body lay in the chief's house in a closed coffin of

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people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" (Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back there had existed a barely concealed rivalry between Galà and Na Turuku; but although Galà considered themselves the more chiefly people, Na Turuku had one great point in their favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a certain family in their tribe*, and the priest-caste dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his parents only known it) was one day stricken ill with some mysterious complaint, and told his relatives that he knew he was doomed to die. Now, this was a most serious matter, as only one generation earlier it would have meant a large strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies for the death of so great a chief; and even now it was a matter that would convulse the whole island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa said that he was convinced he had been bewitched (*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

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custom, he *was* dead, because he was "as good as dead."[1] But he lingered on for another day, in a semi-comatose condition, and died on September 13, 1881, having refused to be sent to hospital "as he knew it was hopeless."

He was given a great funeral, and for four nights all his followers slept in a solid ring round his grave, with some of them doing sentry-go up and down all night, armed with axes and clubs. They were determined that the worker of the witchcraft should not be able to *suaka* the grave.

His brother, the heir-apparent, Jioti Sugusugu by name, was away on the day of the death, but immediately he returned he gave orders for all trees and shrubs to be cut away for a good distance in the vicinity of the grave, to give no chance of concealment to anyone. And Tui Na Turuku was kept under close but secret observation all through the critical period. He actually visited the Magistrate (Charles R. Swayne, C.M.G.) and asked him to remove the grave-guard "as it hurt his feelings," but Mr. Swayne very wisely refused, as that would have only cast still further suspicion at the time on Tui Na Turuku, without giving any certain proof of crime.

Nothing further happened at *that* time, but it

[1] Curiously enough, much the same thing happened about the present Tui Na Turuku, an old man of about seventy-five, only a month ago. I was told that he was at death's door; and on going to see him I found him laid out in his grave-clothes! But I gave him some simple medicines and I saw him only a few days ago amusing himself by vigorously digging in his garden.

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coast. And Josefa told me of this, and nothing evil ever happened to him.

"But when she appears in her *waqawaqa* as the rat, all may look on her without harm, and she will even give help and strength to the people of her tribe, the men of Uruone; and they to this very day are wont to take a root of *Yaqona* as an offering to her when they are about to take part in a *tiqa*[1] match. But they can now only place their gifts on the stump of the old *ivi* tree that used to be her home, and seldom is she seen now since Apaitia, the last Tui Uruone, had that tree and also the *Makosoi* tree near to it cut down. In the old days the custom was as follows: when the people wished to honour her they would approach with all due humility to the hole beneath the *ivi* tree. Then the priests, who were always of the Na-Ivi-ki-lamo tribe, would take firewood and burn it, and the big, grey rat would appear, and running up the *Ivi* tree she would jump across to the *Makosoi*, and seated on a bough there would answer the questions put to her. Then she would descend and the priests would oil her and tend her, feeding her on the best portions of the food.

"Now, the grey rat would always appear as a warning when one of the Na Uto tribe, who are the chiefly tribe of Uruone, was about to die. But there came a time when so many of the tribe

[1] Weighted reeds thrown head first.